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ABSTRACT

Edward Hall's long accepted theories of proxemics, developed in the mid-sixties of this century, promoted the idea that culture plays the definitive role in determining how different individuals use personal space. Contact cultures, inhabited by people who are comfortable with touching and close contact, include those of Arabia, Latin America, and Southern Europe, while non-contact cultures--those of Northern Europe, Asia, and India/Pakistan--maintain greater personal space and are less comfortable with touching while conversing. However, new studies have suggested that Hall's categories are too narrow, and that the distance people maintain while conversing and the amount of touching they are comfortable with are influenced by age, sex, relationship, environment, and ethnicity. R. Shuter discovered that Italian males, who are contact oriented, touched a great deal in conversation, but Italian men and women in conversation touched no more and conversed no more closely than non-touching Germans. Moreover, E. Bauer's studies suggested that American blacks are more comfortable invading one another's personal space than American whites, and R. Lerner's and others' studies contend that children who invade personal space are tolerated more than adults who do the same. Future proxemics research might include, among other things, studies on intercultural interactions between contact and non-contact cultures. (Three pages of references are included.) (JC)

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BEYOND HALL:

Variables in the Use of Personal Space

in Intercultural Transactions

by

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...although we have been searching for fifteen years, we have found no gesture or body motion which has the same social meaning in all societies . . . insofar as we know, there is no body motion or gesture that can be regarded as a universal symbol. (Birdwhistell, 1970, p. 80)

I. BACKGROUND

The concept of personal space has been the subject of numerous analogies. David Katz compared it to the shell of a snail. Stern developed the concept of a personal world. Von Uexkull used the graphic analogy of people "surrounded by soap bubble worlds." (Sommer, 1959) Haydek (1983), on the other hand, suggests that the bubble is not a good analogy since it does not characterize the gradual acceptance of space intrusion under varying circumstances and prefers Sundstrom's (1976) alternate analogy, which compares personal space to an electrical field which is three dimensional, possesses force which decreases with distance, and has positive/negative signs to account for attraction and repulsion of certain bodies.

Forston (1968) defined **proxemics** as "the study of how man communicates through structuring microspace--the distance that man consciously maintains between himself and another person while relating physically to others with whom he is interacting" (p. 109). **Personal space** may be viewed as "the way in which individuals expect the immediate space around them to be used," translating the "more general interpersonal goals into spatial and behavioral terms. . . ." (Liebman, 1970, p. 211). Personal space differs from **territory**, "an area controlled by an individual, family or other face-to-face collectivity," principally by virtue of its mobility (Sommer, 1966, p. 59). Whereas territory tends to remain stable with somewhat definable boundaries, personal space is carried with the individual. "Personal space has the body as its center;

territory does not" (Sommer, 1959, p. 247). Hall (1966) added another dimension to the concept of proxemics by terming it "the interrelated observations and theories of man's use of space as a specialized elaboration of culture" (p. 1).

Edward Hall (1966) maintains that "it is in the nature of animals including man to exhibit behavior which we call territoriality. In doing so, they use the senses to distinguish between one space or distance and another" (p. 128). The anthropologist's formal observations of interpersonal transactions led him to propose a system of classifying the use of personal space. Subjects in Hall's United States sample (middle class adults, mainly natives of the northeastern seaboard) exhibited four distance zones, marked particularly by shifts in vocal volume. In the intimate zone (contact to eighteen inches), usually reserved for spouses, lovers and close friends, people engage in lovemaking, comforting, nursing and conversations of a private nature. The personal zone (eighteen inches to four feet) includes activities such as chatting, gossiping, playing cards and casual interactions and is the territory of friends and acquaintances. Those whom one does not know well are often kept in the social zone (four to twelve feet), the domain of interviews, business transactions and professional exchanges. The public zone (beyond twelve feet) makes interpersonal communication nearly impossible and often denotes a status difference between the speaker and listener. "Spatial changes," writes Hall (1959, p. 204), "give a tone to a communication, accent it, and at times can even override the spoken word. The flow and shift of distance between people as they interact with each other is part and parcel of the communication process."

Emphasizing the impact of culture on communication behaviors, Hall specifies that the above distances are relevant only for those who fit into his sample category and notes that, in the United States and Northern Europe, individuals are guided in their use of space according to their concept of a partner as a stranger or as a familiar. Other cultures demonstrate other patterns such as

the family/non-family distinction in Portugal and Spain or the caste/outcast system of India (Hall, 1966, p. 128).

It is in this vein that Hall (1963), based upon Heidiger's division of animals into contact and noncontact species, expands his theories in the use of personal space to identify differences between contact and noncontact cultures. It is hypothesized that people from contact cultures, i.e. Arabs, Southern Europeans and Latin Americans, will use closer distances, maintain more direct axes and eye contact, touch each other more frequently, and speak more loudly than those from noncontact cultures, i.e. Northern Europeans, Asians, Americans and Indians.

According to Hall, then, culture inevitably plays the definitive role in determining how different individuals use personal space. People from different cultures are seen as not only speaking different languages, but inhabiting different sensory worlds. "Selective screening of sensory data admits some things while filtering out others, so that experience as it is perceived through one set of culturally patterned sensory screens is quite different from experience perceived through another." (Hall, 1966, p. 2) Moreover, cultural conditioning is seen as difficult if not impossible to overcome. "Cultural irrationality," writes Hall in Beyond Culture (1976, p. 192), "is deeply entrenched in the lives of us, and because of culturally imposed blinders, our view of the world does not normally transcend the limits imposed by culture. We are, in effect, stuck with the program culture imposes." Giving support to Hall's earlier theories were experiments by Baltus (1974) which led him to characterize proxemic behavior as "culturally conditioned and entirely arbitrary. . .binding on all concerned" (p. 7).

Early support for Hall's hypotheses was provided in experiments conducted by Watson and Graves in 1966 and by Watson in 1970. The 1966 study, which observed proxemic distances in dyads of male Arab students (from a contact culture) and

male American students (from a noncontact culture), concluded that Arab subjects sat closer to one another, faced each other more directly, maintained higher degrees of eye contact, touched each other more frequently, and were generally more involved with one another during interaction than the American students. Watson expanded on his work in his 1970 study which included a greater number of students from a wider range of locations. Added to the original sample of only sixteen individuals were an additional one hundred and ten male students, all of whom were involved in pairs speaking their own native languages and observed through a one-way glass. Contact cultures were represented primarily by subjects from Arabia, Latin America, and Southern Europe, while those from Northern Europe, Asia, and India/Pakistan represented natives of noncontact cultures. Again, Hall's hypotheses were generally supported with there being no overlap in mean scores between contact and noncontact groups in the areas of directness of axis, frequency of touch, and maintenance of direct eye contact. A slight variance was noted in the use of proxemic distances where Indians/Pakistanis maintained a closer mean distance than all other groups except Arabs.

Other researchers, however, have not been as supportive of Hall's theories. Forstan (1968) observed eight dyads of male Latin American students and eight dyads of male North American (United States) students, all of whom had been asked to work together to solve a problem. Contrary to Forstan's expectations, the North Americans (noncontact culture) sat closer to one another than the Latin Americans (contact culture); no touch interaction occurred whatsoever except that of a single handshake between two North Americans. Similarly, studies conducted by Shuter (1977), Mazur (1977), and Sanders (1985), all cited later in this paper, produced results which raise serious questions about Hall's contact/noncontact theory and his view of culture as the primary factor in behavior, "the backdrop against which all other events are judged"

(Hall, 1966, p. x).

In 1972, Madeline Schmitt proposed a theoretical network which identified culture as but one of five variables to predict social distance: (1) Social Identity (the identity of a particular individual and/or his/her social role), (2) Status, (3) Cultural Distance (difference in values influenced by cultural variations), (4) Physical Distance (actual proximity and/or ecological position), and (5) Personal Distance (emotional differences and/or interpersonal closeness). Bochner (1982) believes that the determination of the "correct" distance in a relationship depends upon two things: the type of activity and the relationship of the individuals involved (p. 14). He proposes nine variables in the use of personal space, specifically considering cross-cultural contacts: (1) On whose territory the interaction occurs, (2) Time span of the contact, (3) Purpose of the meeting, (4) Type of involvement, (5) Frequency of contact, (6) Degree of intimacy, (7) Relative status and power, (8) Numerical balance, and (9) Visible distinguishing characteristics (such as race and sex). Significantly, Bochner suggests that a major difference may exist if the exchange is between two individuals from the same culture or if the individual come from different cultures.

Finally, Canter (1975) cautions that the amount of space necessary in order for an individual to perform a certain task must be distinguished from the use of space by individuals in their daily transactions. It is the failure to separate these two concepts, he maintains, which have led some (notably Hall) to conclude that generalizations can be made about humans' spacial requirements across a sweeping cross-section of cultures (p. 132).

Hall, an anthropologist, has gone to some pains to point out the differences in the use of space between cultures. He rather confuses the argument by detailed categorizations of the spatial zones whilst still insisting that there are large cultural and, presumably, sub-cultural

variations. Large individual differences combined with large sub-cultural variations could easily find two people using similar spatial distances in quite different ways. This makes the notion of tying distances to zones of space (or "proxemic behavior," as Hall calls it) quite inappropriate (p. 142).

The purpose of the remainder of this paper is not to disprove or to devalue the theories of Edward Hall, but rather to substantiate the claim that variables other than culture may play equally important role in determining individuals' use of space. Furthermore, evidence will be offered which suggests that some of these variables do not rely to any extent whatsoever upon cultural conditioning but may be as culture-general principles.

II. AGE AND SEX

Certainly the most obvious of these additional variables are those of the age and sex of the individuals involved in an interact. Of the two areas, age appears to be the more culture-general characteristic. Studies by both Baxter (1970) and Aiello and Jones (1971) indicated that the need for personal space increases with age. Both experiments were conducted by unobtrusively observing subjects in natural settings, and both found that children interacted the most proximally, adolescents at an intermediary distance, and adults at the greatest distance. Furthermore, Dean (1976) found that adults tend to respond more favorably to their space being invaded by smaller children, with a reduction of tolerance as the age of the uninvited visitor increases.

Pegán and Aiello (1982) observed 284 Puerto Rican children (138 males and 146 females) in grades one, six, and eleven in both New York City and Puerto Rico. In each location, a confederate who appeared to be a young teacher invited dyads of children to discuss their favorite television shows; each twenty seconds, she recorded the pair's distance and axis (shoulder orientation to one another). In both samples, older pairs used more space, with first graders using a mean distance of seven inches, sixth graders twelve inches, and

eleventh graders twenty-four inches, thus moving out of Hall's "intimate" range into the close range of "personal" distance. It is important that both groups, whether in the United States or Puerto Rico, showed similar results; however, it is impossible to ascertain whether this was due primarily to the children's ages or familial cultural environment.

Of more cultural significance, then, are the results of two studies done by Richard Lerner (1975 and 1976), who asked similar groups of kindergarten through third grade children in the United States and in Japan to illustrate comfortable interaction distances by the placement of figures on a flannel board. Despite cultural differences, the two groups yielded identical findings with mean distances between subjects increasing as the ages of the children increased. Additionally, Lerner determined that, beginning in the first grade, both male and female children used greater distances between opposite sex dyads than same sex dyads, illustrating the early influences of sex upon proxemic conditioning. Finally, children with endomorphic body types were given more surrounding space than either ectomorphs or mesomorphs, with males giving more space to endomorphs than females.

The observations of Heshka and Nelson (1972) focused on the behavior of adult dyads in an outdoor environment in London, England. Following each observation, which was also unobtrusively photographed, each individual was asked to fill out a brief questionnaire revealing his/her age and relationship to the other person. While Heshka and Nelson confirmed the hypothesis that distances are closer with young people and tend to increase, they have proposed that distance may vary in a curvilinear pattern, with spacial needs beginning to decrease at about age forty and continuing to decrease into old age.

While the use of space by persons of certain ages appears to have some culture-general applications, the same can surely not be said about the sex variable. Use of personal space tends to differ dramatically from one culture

to another. Whereas one culture may expect physical contact between males, in another it may be a taboo. While one country may expect females to maintain distances, the same behavior may be interpreted as coldness or disinterest in another. The examples which follow confirm two hypothesis: (1) Behavioral expectations for male/male, female/female, and male/female dyads differ according to the sex of the participants, and (2) These expectations are culture-specific but do not necessarily correspond to the contact or noncontact categorization of a culture.

For example, Jeffrey Sanders (1985) and his colleagues examined personal space zones by measuring distances maintained between 32 male and 32 female Arab students (a contact culture) and 32 male and 32 female American students (a noncontact culture). In the dyads, he varied the degree of relationship between the two as well as using both same sex and opposite sex pairs. Although Hall's theories would lead one to expect closer interactions between the Arabs than the Americans, the experimenters found very little difference between Arab males and Americans in general (male or female). Arab females, on the other hand, showed dramatic differences from the other three groups. Male friends were kept at a much farther distance than were female friends. For these females, the primary variable appeared to be sex, as male friends were kept nearly as far away as male strangers.

Studies conducted by Julian and Nancy Edney (1974) in the United States and by H. Smith (1981) in France and Germany examined crowding patterns on the beaches in these countries. Although the personal space needs were less for the French (a contact culture) than for the Germans and Americans (noncontact cultures) and thus confirmed Hall's hypothesis, similar variations were noted in all three cultures according to sex. Larger groups, mixed sex groups, and females tended to claim less space per person than small groups and males. In general, lone females used less space than lone males; similarly they used less

space within their groups, placing themselves closer to other female groups than to male groups. These results are consistent with Smith's suggestion that "cross national commonalities in territorial patterns are more important than within cultural variations." (Smith, p. 132).

Judith Curt (1983) noted that in Puerto Rico (a contact culture), people of the same sex and age touch a great deal and stand quite close together; whereas, people of the opposite sex and age do not touch at all and tend to stand farther apart than Americans do. Upon closer observation, Curt realized that, in closer male/female relationships, women may touch the males; however the men do not reciprocate. On the other hand, females tend to avoid direct eye contact with males, with many Puerto Rican wives never looking directly at their husbands.

Latin Americans from three contact nations--Costa Rica, Panama, and Columbia were--were observed by Robert Shuter (1976) to note their proxemic angles toward one another, their proxemic distances, and their frequency of physical contact (touch). Shuter found that the mean axis score and the mean distance for Costa Ricans were significantly smaller than for those of Panamanians and Columbians; similarly, a greater number of Costa Ricans touched each other than in the two other cultures. Shuter's results indicate that the directness of interactions diminishes as one travels from Central to South America, despite the classification of all three as contact cultures. Across all three cultures, however, females tended to relate most directly, followed by male/female dyads, and, finally, by males. Accordingly, the mean distance score for females was considerably smaller than for male/female or male/male dyads--regardless of culture. Finally, in each of the three countries, female/female dyads were the most likely to make physical contact, followed by male/male and male/female in Costa Rica and Columbia (where 0% of the male/female pairs exhibited touch) and male/female, male/male in Panama.

Shuter (1977) conducted a similar study by observing interactions in Venice

Mastre, Italy, Heidelberg, Germany, and Milwaukee, Wisconsin, to determine if sex and/or culture have an impact on distance, axis orientation and/or contact. Contrary to Hall's theories, Shuter's data suggests that a single culture may be both contact and noncontact oriented. For example, Italians, normally viewed as contact oriented, exhibited the greatest amount of tactility in male/male dyads; however, in male/female and female/female groupings, they did not differ significantly from the Germans (a noncontact culture). Furthermore, although male/male pairs exhibited a more active contact pattern, Italian males did not converse more closely nor more directly than the non-touching German male. Additionally, American females are as tactile as Italian women, while both are surpassed by the German female.

Based on this research, Shuter (1977) seriously questioned the validity of Hall's hypothesis:

Contrary to Hall's position, it appears that each of the cultures examined is so diverse that it cannot be classified as strictly contact or noncontact oriented. In fact, sex pairs within Germany, Italy and the United States displayed such a wide range of distance, axis, and tactile behaviors that gender-free culture statements could not be advanced on any tested variable. Unsurprisingly, when sex pair behavior is compared across the three cultures, the limitation of Hall's categories is dramatically revealed (p. 304).

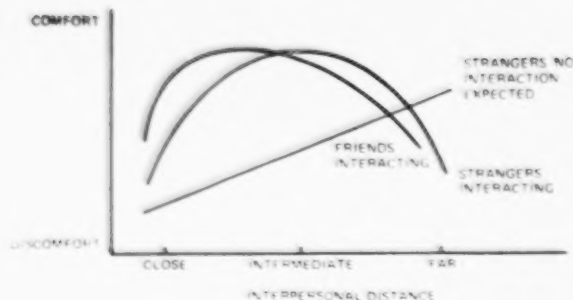
Upon an examination of even a limited number of contact and noncontact cultures, it is apparent that male/male, female/female, and male/female dyads most often respond differently within a single culture and that these patterns often vary from culture to culture. A recent experiment by Lombardo (1986) introduced yet another confounding factor, namely the influence of sex role (orientation toward androgyny) upon American males and females in their use of space. His results led Lombardo to propose that sex roles, as well as sex itself, may have an impact over how an individual uses space and his or her

perception of space needs and space invasion. Clearly, it is impossible to make culture general statements about "typical" behaviors when referring to the variable of sex.

III. RELATIONSHIPS AND ENVIRONMENT

Other than culture, age, and sex, the interaction distance between two individuals can be affected by a host of other variables: relationship between the two, the environment of the transaction, attitudinal differences, occupation and/or status, the language used, etc. Of these, the first two, relationship and environment, will be considered in more detail.

In the presentation of his theory of the four distance zones, Hall (1966) notes that "how people are feeling toward each other at the time (of a meeting) is a decisive factor in the distance used" (p. 114). Yet, Hall effectively eliminates this consideration of relationships in his intercultural work. A theoretical model of personal space and interpersonal relationships, developed by Sundstrom and Altman (1976), follows three assumptions: that people seek an optimal distance for each interaction, that discomfort results from interaction outside of the optimal range (too close or too far) and that the optimal zone, as well as reactions to violations, will depend upon the interpersonal situation. Their model (Figure 1, p. 61) diagrams levels of comfort/discomfort in distances, based upon interactions with friends, strangers, and strangers where no interaction is anticipated, indicating that the highest degree of comfort at close distances occurs with friends interacting. The studies cited below suggest the basis for a culture-general hypothesis concerning the variable of relationship.



In 1968, Little studied social interaction distances by asking individuals from five countries (United States, Sweden, Scotland--noncontact cultures--and Greece and Southern Italy--contact cultures) to place figures of their own sex on a flannel board to represent various communication situations. Although Hall's contact/noncontact culture theory was supported, there was a general tendency across cultures for subjects to indicate closer proxemic distances as the indicated relationship became closer and the subjects more pleasant, leading Little to conclude that "the major single factor determining distances in dyadic schemata appears to be the relationship between the members, with the specific content or affective tone of the transaction as next important" (Little, p. 1). Identical results were noted by Watson (1970, also cited in Part I) who observed male college students from the noncontact cultures of North America, Asia, India, Pakistan, and Northern Europe and the contact cultures of Arabia, Latin America, and Southern Europe. In Watson's expansive study, the rankings of cultural groups on interpersonal distance (far to near) was nearly identical to their rankings on average intensity of friendships within the pairs. That is, the more friendly the pairs representing a given culture, the closer their average interpersonal distance, regardless of culture. In a study cited earlier, Heshka and Nelson (1972) found that, in London, strangers, particularly females, stood farther apart than friends.

Lomranz (1976) tested three groups of sixteen to seventeen year old male

sojourners (Argentineans, Iraqui, and Russians) who had lived in Israel for approximately one year. He found that proxemic distance in all three cultures varied along a continuum toward progressive greater distances as the level of friendship declined. Significantly, in dealing with a close friend, only a small variance was noted across these three very distinct cultures, a fact which did not hold true for meetings with strangers. A later study by Carolyn and E. Gregory Keating (1980) in yet another culture documented the behavioral pattern of dyads on park benches in Nairobi, Kenya. In the African culture also, the Keatings observed that those who appeared to be acquainted (spoke to each other, approached or left together) sat closer together than strangers.

Acceptable spatial distances may also vary according to the environment of a given interaction, as well as to people's (probably) cultural perception of crowding and privacy. Moreover, their use of space and tolerance for crowding may not be at all related to the concept of contact and noncontact cultures. Studies done by Robert Sommer as early as 1962 illustrate that the proxemic distances chosen by individuals may vary according to the placement of furniture, the specific setting (such as a living room or an office), and the size of the space. In the latter situation, Sommer (1962) determined that people feel more comfortable sitting at closer distances in a large room than in an intimate setting. Nasar and his colleagues (1984) further hypothesized that feelings of crowding may be affected by the amount of light available in a room. An experiment conducted by Mazur (1977), in which he observed the spacing of male strangers on park benches in the United States, Spain, Morocco, led him to offer an alternate hypothesis to Hall's: "Under a given set of physical constraints (e.g. bench length, room dimensions, number of people per square yard, etc.), the spacing pattern of noninteracting strangers is similar across cultures" (p. 58).

On the other hand, culturally influenced privacy needs may complicate the establishment of such culture general rules. "In the strictest sense," writes Canter (1975, p. 139), "privacy may be seen as the establishing of a physical and/or psychological barrier against the world." In Western societies, the need for privacy may take the form of territoriality and/or the setting up of physical barricades against others, thus creating the sense of aloneness. In Eastern societies, however, the feeling of privacy may be reached even in a crowded room, as the individual simply retreats into him or herself. Neither the Arabs (a contact culture) nor the Japanese (a noncontact culture) have a word for "privacy" as we understand it in their languages. In public situations, both groups demonstrate a tolerance for crowding, pushing, and close proximity which are uncomfortable to the American. The homes of both peoples tend to be open and flexible, emphasizing a need to be with one another. (Arab homes are usually constructed without specific room dividers; whereas Japanese walls are flexible and activity in the center of the space is emphasized.) In the use of personal interaction distance, on the other hand, the two cultures differ significantly with the Arabs approaching close enough to smell the partner's breath, while maintaining direct eye contact, and the Japanese adopting a much more distant position with averted eyes.

Condon and Yousef (1975) offer a warning about careless attempts to categorize and predict nonverbal behaviors based on overly simplistic categorizations:

. . .one wonders, however, if it might be possible to anticipate relations between proxemic behavior and other cultural patterns of communication before completing detailed proxemic descriptions of many different societies. For example, are there likely to be some common value orientations among cultures which are characterized by frequent physical contact. . .? Do relatively noncontact cultures reveal different value orientations? Or is there no more connection

between values and the sound system of the language spoken in any given culture? . . . Perhaps the best we can do at this point is to warn of pushing analogies too far and point out that many codes of nonverbal interaction cannot be treated adequately by analogies to other forms of behavior (p. 141).

IV. ETHNICITY

In his description of the four spatial distances (public, social, personal, and intimate), Hall (1966) carefully explains the limitations of his sample:

It should be emphasized that these generalizations are not representative of human behavior in general--or even of American behavior in general--but only of the group included in the sample. Negroes and Spanish Americans as well as persons who come from southern European cultures have very different proxemic patterns. (Hall, 1966, p. 116).

Interestingly, the anthropologist has had considerable experience in working with the Indians of United States Southwest, whom he often identifies as unique in their conceptualizations and use of time (1976, 1983). It is particularly ironic, then, that, in his writings about contact and noncontact cultures, Hall appears to adopt but two molds into which countries of the world must fit, apparently overlooking the multitude of sub-cultures which exist in most cultures. The United States, for example, is repeatedly referred to, by Hall and others, as a noncontact culture, despite evidence that the behavior of several American ethnic groups differs radically from the typical Caucasian sample.

Even more importantly, most researchers have been painstakingly cautious in separating contact culture and noncontact culture subjects. Studies and anecdotes abound about the classic behavioral patterns when two Arabs meet or when two Japanese converse. It is apparently assumed that, by studying such isolated examples, the individual from another culture can internalize and adapt to the use of personal space in countries other than his/her own. What is sorely

lacking in intercultural research are experiments and observations which survey the results of interactions between individuals from two different cultures or from two subcultures within the same country. If age, sex, and a host of other variables can affect an interaction, it stands to reason that the presence of two cultures or subcultures interacting simultaneously may carry an even greater impact. Studies of different ethnic groups within a single country, most notably the black and white races in the United States, imply support of this hypothesis.

As early as 1970, Baxter noted differences for personal space needs in Hispanic-American, White-American, and Black-American children, with mixed race dyads exhibiting greater distances than any single-race pairs. In studies of black and white children, Severy (1979) determined that, by age seven, black children require less personal space than white children, with mixed sex dyads needing more space than same sex dyads. Somewhat paradoxically, through observations of fifth grade boys at play, Zimmerman (1975) noted that black children talked to each other significantly less, faced each other less directly and interacted at greater distances than white boys. Racially-mixed dyads appeared to attempt to adjust to each other's needs and interacted at an intermediate distance.

On the other hand, there is some indication that blacks will more readily invade the space of another black than will whites intrude on another individual of either race. When Bauer (1973) instructed blacks and whites to approach a same sex/same race confederate "as close as comfortable," white males chose the farthest distance, followed by white females, black males, and black females. An experiment by William Dick (1976) netted similar results. Four male confederates (two blacks, aged 20 and 30 years, and two whites, aged 20 and 30 years) were positioned individually on a university campus in front of a bubble gum machine so that subjects would need to invade their space in order to turn

the knob to receive free gum. Significantly more black subjects invaded the space of the black confederates. Females tended to be more cautious than males, indicating that both race and sex influenced the subject's decision to "invade space."

Based on Hall's contact/noncontact culture theory, Aiello and Jones (1971) observed 210 same sex (male/male, female/female) first and second grade dyads from three diverse New York City subcultures: blacks, whites, and Puerto Ricans; they hypothesized that black and Puerto Rican would interact at closer distances than the white children. In this study, in contrast to that of Zimmerman, the hypothesis was confirmed with whites maintaining distances nearly twice that of blacks and Puerto Ricans. An additional correlation was found, however, between distance and sex of the dyad. Both Puerto Rican and white female/female dyads stood closer than male/male dyads, with the opposite being true of blacks. Additionally, the axis orientation of white children was more direct than that of blacks or Puerto Ricans, with the latter being the least direct. Across cultures, males tended to face their partners more directly than females. In a similar vein, Jones (1971) found that Chinese in New York City interacted at greater distances than either Puerto Ricans or Italians.

Although conducted in the unlaboratory-like setting of the New York subway, the work of David Maines (1977) makes a unique contribution in his observation of mixed sex/mixed race dyads. In observing the elbow placement of individuals, either to the side or out to the front, Maines discovered that, in general, there was a tendency for individuals to locate their elbows to their sides in noncrowded conditions and to the front in more crowded contexts. Movement to the front was particularly significant in mixed race and mixed sex dyads where individuals are apparently more reluctant to actually touch another person. A similar pattern was noticed in observing the physical contact patterns of the hands of passengers sharing a "balance strap". In these cases, there was an

especially noticeable pattern of avoidance in the case of mixed race/same sex groupings. While Maines' observations did not include verbal interactions, his results are important in suggesting further implications for mixed ethnic pairings. Unfortunately, studies of mixed race or mixed subculture groups in other cultures are difficult to locate.

A final significant contribution is that of Sussman and Rosenfeld (1982) who looked at the influence of culture and language on conversational distance. The researchers hypothesized that theories for contact/noncontact societies hold true primarily in same-culture interactions in which individuals speak in their native tongues and that, correspondingly, adopting the use of another language serves to create a distance which is evidenced through proxemics. Observations of Japanese, Venezuelan, and American student dyads substantiated their hypothesis, with all three groups maintaining further distances when speaking a foreign tongue than when using their native language. Although this study used dyads of individuals from the same culture, hypotheses might be suggested about the potential implications for interactions in mixed-culture pairs with differing native tongues.

V. CONCLUSIONS

The research in this paper holds suggestions for further study in the use of space in several different areas:

Can culture-general hypotheses for the following be substantiated?

- A curvilinear pattern of proxemic distances according to age
- A continuum of progressively smaller distances as relationships move from that of stranger to that of close friend

Can culture-specific theories for the following be generated?

- Interaction differences between male/male, female/female, and male/female dyads in different cultures

- The impact of environment and the perceptions of crowding and privacy in different cultures

Can (and should) Hall's theory of contact/noncontact cultures be re-defined and refined?

More significantly, however, this research indicates a serious gap in the study of "intercultural" proxemics; indeed, there appears to be very little work with a truly intercultural focus being done. While anecdotal accounts are sometimes cited to explain the "East Meets West" phenomenon, I was unable to locate a single example of a study which examined interaction behaviors between individuals from different cultures using a scientific approach. Only one (the Maines subway study) even touched upon United States patterns in racially mixed pairs. The experiments and hypotheses to date, then, have been based nearly totally on intracultural or, at best, cross-cultural studies. Some of the areas which might be probed are the following:

- Can any hypotheses be substantiated for intercultural interactions based upon contact/non-contact, noncontact/noncontact, contact/contact dyads?
- Can any hypotheses be substantiated in terms of the distance control factor for the host or the sojourner?
- Can any hypotheses be substantiated about the distance behaviors of two sojourners from different cultures interacting in a third culture?
- Can any hypotheses be substantiated about the impact of language choice in a transaction? Is there a correlation between use of the native tongue and the distance control factor?
- In any of the above cases, how might the sex, sex roles, age, relationship, and status of the individuals influence the interaction patterns?

"Proxemics research," admits Edward Hall (1976, p. 86), "requires an

inordinate amount of time." Because of the many variables present, he says, few studies have been done which examine its impact. In his first book, The Silent Language, (1959), Hall offers this simplistic advice to the sojourner: "Watch where people stand and don't back up." In this world of multinational companies and jet travel, however, we cannot afford to be so easily placated.

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